

PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, PROPHETS, AND PULPITS IN CAMPANIA

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Romanesque sculpture in Campania is not noted for highly developed iconographic programs.¹ Hence it is not surprising that, save for studies concerning the depiction of the lives of SS. Peter and Paul on the center archivolt of the portico of the cathedral at Sessa Aurunca and a group of pulpits having images of Jonah and the whale,² Campanian Romanesque iconography has been virtually ignored. There is, however, a second series of pulpits depicting prophets that is worthy of investigation. Without exception, the pulpits have been restored, dismantled, and/or reconstructed; their chronology, based in part on stylistic evidence, is not entirely secure. Despite the inherent difficulties, these pulpits nonetheless reward careful examination, a task happily undertaken as a contribution to a volume honoring Ernst Kitzinger who has taught us so much about medieval art in South Italy.³

The pulpit in the cathedral of S. Pietro at Sessa Aurunca serves as a useful starting point both be-

cause it is virtually intact and because it once bore two inscriptions giving evidence of a secure, if rather extended, chronology (Fig. 1).⁴ The inscription still on the pulpit reads:

HOC OPUS EST STUDIO PANDULFI PRESULIS
ACTUM
QUEM LOCET IN PROPRIO REGNO VERBUM
CARO FACTUM

and the lost, but documented, inscription reads:

HOC OPUS A PATRIBUS CEPTUM JAM PLURIBUS
ANNIS
PRESULIS EXPLEVIT PROBITAS MEMORANDA
JOHANNIS.

Pandulfus is first mentioned as bishop of Sessa Aurunca in 1224; Iohannes, who completed the pulpit, and was also responsible for the paschal candelabrum, is noted from March 1248 until his death in 1283.⁵ Of particular interest are the four spandrel figures appearing on the west side of the pulpit. Daniel, the first figure, reading from the left, holds a scroll inscribed: "Cum venerit s(an)c(tu)s s(an)c(torum), ce(ssabit unctio)." Facing him on the opposite side of the same arch is Zechariah holding a scroll on which is inscribed: "Ecce vir horiens nom(en eius)" (Fig. 2). The southernmost of the two western spandrels depicts, on the left, the "Erythraean sibyl" with a

¹ Among the most significant general works discussing Romanesque sculpture in Campania are: H. W. Schulz and F. von Quast, *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*, II (Dresden, 1860), 99–210; D. Salazaro, *Studi sui monumenti della Italia meridionale dal IV^o al XIII^o secolo*, pt. 1 (Naples, 1871–77); E. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale* (Paris, 1904), 601–28 (rpr. Rome-Paris, 1968); C. D. Sheppard, "A Chronology of Romanesque Sculpture in Campania," *ArtB* 32 (1950), 319–26; L. Cochetti, "Problemi della scultura romanica campana," *Commentari* 7 (1956), 9–18; A. Carotti, *La suppellettile sacra e l'arte dell'intarsio in Campania dall'XI al XIII secolo*, Tesi di laurea in storia dell'arte medievale, Università degli Studi di Roma, Facoltà di Lettere, 1966–67; A. Prandi, ed., *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale. Aggiornamento dell'opera di Emile Bertaux*, 3 vols. (vols. 4–6 of Bertaux) (Rome, 1978); and M. D'Onofrio and V. Pace, *La Campania, Italia romanica*, 4. Già e non ancora. Arte, 16 (Milan, 1981).

² D. F. Glass, "Jonah in Campania: A Late Antique Revival," *Commentari*, n.s. 27 (1976), 179–93; idem, "The Archivolt Sculpture at Sessa Aurunca," *ArtB* 52 (1970), 119–31.

³ In this context, see esp. E. Kitzinger, "The First Mosaic Decoration of Salerno Cathedral," *JÖB* 21 (1972), 149–62.

⁴ G. Diamare, *Memorie critico storiche della chiesa di Sessa Aurunca* (Naples, 1906–7), II, 66–72. The staircase leading to the pulpit has been rebuilt.

⁵ N. Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie im Staufischen Königreich Sizilien. I. Abruzzen und Kampanien* (Munich, 1973), 187–88. Schulz and von Quast (Denkmäler, II, 149) give Pandulfus' dates as 1224–59 and Iohannes' dates as 1259–83. For the inscriptions see the literature cited above (note 1), esp. Aggiornamento, V, 752; despite the inscriptions, there has been debate concerning the date of the pulpit and its stylistic coherence. See, for example, Sheppard, "Chronology" and L. Cochetti Pratesi, "Rilievi nella cattedrale di Sessa Aurunca e lo sviluppo dei marmorari 'neocampani' nel XIII secolo," *Commentari* 9 (1958), 78–87.

scroll inscribed "Judicii si(g)n(u)m," while opposite her is a third male figure whose scroll is blank (Fig. 3).

Three of the four figures can thus be identified by the inscriptions on their scrolls; yet the inscriptions are not always simple excerpts from the Bible. For example, the phrase on Daniel's scroll has been interpreted both as a loose adaptation of Dan. 9:24 and as a translation of the Septuagint version of that text. Regardless of the origin(s) of the text, the significant point is that the phrase is uttered by Daniel in the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon entitled *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos*, a work that, throughout the Middle Ages, was believed to have been written by Augustine himself.⁶ The phrase is also given to Daniel in the various versions of the *Ordo Prophetarum*, a liturgical drama based on the sermon.⁷ The words on the sibyl's scroll are likewise derived from the sermon, for they are the first phrase of the lengthy prophecy uttered by the "Erythraean sibyl."⁸ Zechariah is

⁶ PL 42, cols. 1117–30. The prophecy also appears in a different context in book xviii, chap. 23 of *The City of God*. See Sancti Aurelii Augustini, *De civitate Dei, Libri XI–XXII*, CCSL 48 (Turnholt, 1955), 613–15. On the sermon's inauthenticity and for arguments concerning its attribution, see G. Morin, "Pour une future édition des opuscules de S. Quodvultdeus évêque de Carthage au Ve siècle," *RBén* 31 (1914), 156–62; E. N. Stone, *A Translation of Chapters XI–XVI of the Pseudo-Augustinian Sermon against the Jews, Pagans and Arians, Concerning the Creed*, University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature 4.3 (Seattle, 1928); P. Glorieux, *Pour revaloriser Migne. Tables rectificatives, Mélanges de science religieuse* 9 (1952), Cahier Suppl. 31; B. Blumenkranz, *Die Judenpredigt Augustins. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der jüdisch-christlichen Beziehungen in den ersten Jahrhunderten*, Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft 25 (Basel, 1946), 54–55; idem, "Vie et survie de la polémique antijuive," *Papers Presented to the Second International Conference on Patristic Studies Held at Christ Church Oxford, 1955*, Studia Patristica I. Texte und Untersuchungen 63 (Berlin, 1967), 460–76; and R. Braun, ed., *Opera Quodvultdeo Carthaginensi Episcopo Tributa*, CCSL 60 (Turnholt, 1976), 227–58.

⁷ Of the vast literature concerning the *Ordo Prophetarum*, see esp.: M. Sepet, "Les prophètes du Christ. Etude sur les origines du théâtre au moyen âge," *BEC* 28 (1867), 1–27, 211–64; 29 (1868), 105–39, 261–93; 38 (1877), 397–443 (Sepet's work also appeared as a monograph [Paris, 1878]); E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II (London, 1903), 52–56; K. Young, "A Contribution to the History of the Liturgical Drama at Rouen," *Modern Philology* 6 (1908), 201–27; idem, "Ordo Prophetarum," *Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Transactions* 20 (1921), 1–82; idem, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, II (Oxford, 1933), 125–71; and C. J. Stratman, *Bibliography of Medieval Drama*, 2nd ed., I (New York, 1972), 124–26, nos. 1323–48.

⁸ Augustine himself was not sure of the identification of the sibyl, for in reference to the same prophecy he wrote in *De civitate Dei*: "Haec autem Sibylla sive Erythraea sive, ut quidam magis credunt, Cumaea ita nihil habet in tota carmine suo. . ." (Sancti Aurelii Augustini, op. cit., 614). Recently F. de Maffei has attempted to identify the prophetess as the Tiburtine sibyl: "La sibilla 'Tiburtina' e 'prophetissa' nel ciclo degli affreschi di Sant'Angelo in Formis," *Monasticon IV. Scritti raccolti in memoria del XV centenario della nascita di S. Benedetto (480–1980)*, Miscellanea Cassinese 48 (Monte Cassino, 1984), 9–30. J. Haffen, *Con-*

more problematical, for he is often incorrectly identified as Jeremiah,⁹ despite the fact that the words inscribed on his scroll (Zech. 6:12) clearly identify him.¹⁰ Zechariah does not appear in *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos* but is among the prophets appearing in the frescoed spandrels of S. Angelo in Formis (where the words on his scroll quote part of Zech. 9:9).

The relationship between two of the figures on the pulpit at Sessa Aurunca and *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos* is not fortuitous, for the sermon enjoyed great popularity in medieval Campania. Of particular interest is the section of the sermon concerning the Jews (chaps. xi–xvii). Wishing to counter the Jews' disbelief in Christ, Pseudo-Augustine calls the Jews' own prophets to witness and attempts to prove that their words predicted the coming of the Messiah. Pseudo-Augustine begins with Isaiah (Isa. 7:14)¹¹ and continues with Jeremiah (Bar. 3:36, 38),¹² Daniel (Dan. 9:24),¹³ Moses (Deut. 18:15, 19),¹⁴ David (Pss. 71:11¹⁵ and 109:1),¹⁶ and Habakkuk (Hab. 3:2).¹⁷ He then

⁹ tribution à l'étude de la sibylle médiévale. *Etude et édition du ms. B.N. Fr. 25407, fol. 160v–172v: Le livre de sibile*. Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 296 (Paris, 1984), treats more fully the complexities of the identification; she argues convincingly that the Pseudo-Augustinian sibyl is the Erythraean sibyl. See also F. Neri, "Le tradizioni italiane della Sibilla," *SM* 4 (1912–13), 213–30.

¹⁰ See most recently, for example, D'Onofrio and Pace, *La Campania*, 80. J. Durand correctly identified Zechariah at an early date: "Monuments figurés du Moyen-Age exécutés d'après des textes liturgiques," *BullMon* 54 (1888), 542.

¹¹ "Et loqueris ad eum dicens haec ait Dominus exercituum dicens ecce vir Oriens nomen eius et subter eum orietur et aedificabit templum Domino," *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, 2 vols., 2nd ed., II (Württemberg, 1975), 1421. All subsequent quotations from the Vulgate are taken from this edition.

¹² PL 42, col. 1123: "Ecce virgo in utero concipiet et pariet filium et vocabitis nonem (sic) ejus Emmanuel." The Vulgate (II, 1103) omits the phrase "in utero."

¹³ PL 42, col. 1124; Vulgate, II, 1363.

¹⁴ PL 42, col. 1124: "Prophetam vobis excitabit Deus de fratribus (sic) vestris. Ominis anima quea non audierit prophetam illum, exterminabitur de populo suo." The Vulgate (I, 260) reads: "Prophetam de gente tua et de fratribus tuis . . . Qui autem verba eius quea loquetur in nomine meo audire noluerit ego ulti existam."

¹⁵ PL 42, col. 1124: "Adorabunt eum omnes reges terrae; omnes gentes servient illi." The Vulgate (I, 858) reads: "Et adorabunt eum omnes reges omnes gentes servient ei."

¹⁶ PL 42, col. 1124: "Dixit Dominus Dominus meo, sede ad dextram meam donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum." The Vulgate (I, 912) reads "a dextris meis" instead of "ad dextram meam."

¹⁷ PL 42, col. 1124: "Domine audivi auditum tuum, et timui; consideravi opera tua, Deus et expavi." The Vulgate (II, 1410) reads: "Domine audivi auditionem tuam et timui Domine opus tuum in medio annorum vivifica illud in medio annorum notum facies cum iratus fueris misericordiae recordaberis." Stone (*Sermon*, 203 note 25) observed the discrepancy between the second

moves on to the predictions of Christ's coming in the New Testament and evokes the words of Simeon (Luke 2:29–30), Elizabeth (Luke 1:43–44), and John the Baptist (Mark 1:7; Luke 3:16; and Acts 13:25).¹⁸ Pseudo-Augustine concludes with the utterances of the Gentiles, Virgil (*Eclogues* 4:7),¹⁹ Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. 3:91–92),²⁰ and the “Erythraean sibyl,” whose prophecy is an acrostic in which the first letter of each line may be read in sequence to form the phrase “Iesus Christus, Dei Filius Salvator.”²¹

The extensive and long-lived influence of *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos* can be understood only if one realizes that the words attributed to some of the prophets in the sermon are not literal quotations from either the Vulgate or the Septuagint. One of the most obvious cases is Daniel whose prophecy in the sermon is: “Cum venerit Sanctus sanctorum, cessabit unctio,”²² a phrase loosely associated with Dan. 9:24 in the Vulgate:

Septuaginta ebdomades adbreviatae sunt super populum tuum et super urbem sanctam tuam ut consummetur praevericatio et finem accipiat peccatum et deleatur iniquitas et adducatur iustitia sempiterna et impleatur visio et prophetes et unguatur *sanctus sanctorum*.²³

Similarly, Jeremiah's prophecy in the sermon is not a literal quotation from Bar. 3:36–38 in the Vulgate but rather another version. In the sermon Jeremiah says:

Hic est, Deus noster, et non aestimabitur aliis absque illo, qui invenit omnem viam scientiae, et dedit eam Jacob

part of the prophecy and the Vulgate and suggested that the second part of the prophecy is a summary of Hab. 3.

¹⁸The New Testament prophecies are not analyzed in detail here because they are not directly relevant to the issues at hand.

¹⁹PL 42, col. 1126: “Jam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.” On Virgil's fourth *Eclogue*, see J. B. Mayor, W. W. Fowler, and R. S. Conway, *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue. Its Meaning, Occasion and Sources* (London, 1907). For Augustine's knowledge of the classics see H. Hagendahl, *Augustin and the Latin Classics*, 2 vols., *Studia graeca et latina gothoburgensis* XX:I–II (Göteborg, 1967). For Virgil specifically, see L. Holtz, “La redécouverte de Virgile aux VIIIe et IXe siècle d'après les manuscrits conservés,” *Lectures médiévales de Virgile. Actes du Colloque organisé par l'Ecole Française de Rome (Rome 25–28 octobre 1982)*, Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome 80 (Rome, 1985), 9–30.

²⁰PL 42, col. 1126: “Nonne tres viros misimus in formacem ligatos? Et aiunt ei: Vere rex. Ecce, inquit, ego video quatuor viros solutos deambulantes in medio ignis, et corruptio nulla est in eis, et aspectus quarti similis est Filio Dei.” The text is based on Dan. 3:91–92. See the Vulgate, II, 1351.

²¹See above, note 8. In *De civitate Dei* (op. cit., 614) Augustine admits the difficulty involved in reading the acrostic correctly because of the differences between the Greek and Latin alphabets.

²²PL 42, col. 1124.

²³Vulgate, II, 1363.

puero suo et Israel dilecto suo. Post haec in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.²⁴

The Vulgate reads:

Hic Deus noster non aestimabitur aliis aduersus eum hic adinvenit omnem viam disciplinae et tradidit illam Iacob pueru suo et Israhel dilectu suo post haec in terris visus est et cum hominibus conversatus est.²⁵

Contrasts could also be made between the sermon and the biblical text in regard to the prophecies of Moses²⁶ and Habakkuk.²⁷ All the variations are significant because their repetition in other works, be they literary or visual, is strong evidence that the source of those works is *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos* rather than a particular biblical text. Hence, in later works, the rather unusual presence of the “Erythraean sibyl” and a group of prophecies predicting the coming of the Messiah, as well as the repetition of specific passages from the sermon, all serve as indications that the sermon is the primary source for those works.

Early on, the section of *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos* concerning the Jews was extracted from the sermon and used as a lection during the Christmas season.²⁸ Of particular interest are seven manuscripts in the library at Monte Cassino: codices 99, 100, 103, 106, 107, 115, and 462. All date from the eleventh century, save for cod. 115 dating from ca. 1200. All are entitled *Sermones et homiliae diversorum Patrum*, all contain the chapters of *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos* concerning the Jews, all indicate that this excerpt is to be read during the Christmas season, either “In vig. natalis Domini” or “In nat. Domini” (save for cod. 462, in which no day is indicated), and all contain musical notations after the prophecy of the sibyl.²⁹ The Pseudo-Augustinian sermon clearly enjoyed great

²⁴PL 42, col. 1123.

²⁵Vulgate, II, 1260.

²⁶See above, note 14.

²⁷See above, note 17.

²⁸Sepet, “Prophéties,” 28 (1867), 1–27, 211–64; Young, “Ordo Prophetarum,” 4; idem, *Drama*, II, 125, 131, 153.

²⁹M. Inguanez, *Codicum Casinensium Manuscriptorum Catalogus*, I (Monte Cassino, 1915), 101–3; 103–9; 119–23; 130–37; 137–41; 180–83; III, 96–100. See also F. Avagliano, “I codici liturgici dell'Archivio di Montecassino,” *Benedictina* 17 (1970), 304 (no. 6); 305 (nos. 7, 10, 13, and 14); 306 (no. 22); and 315 (no. 91). I have used the chronology in E. A. Loew (Lowe), *The Beneventan Script. A History of South Italian Minuscule*, 2nd ed. revised and enlarged by V. Brown, 2 vols., *Sussidi eruditivi* 34 (Rome, 1980), II, 65–67, 69, 74, 87–88; Loew (II, 67) notes that on the last leaf of codex no. 103 is written “olim S. Michaeli.” The section of *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos* concerning the Jews appeared in Roman homiliaries at a somewhat earlier date. See R. Grégoire, *Homiliae liturgiques médiévaux. Analyse de manuscrits*, Biblioteca degli Studi medievali 12 (Spoleto, 1980), 223–27.

vogue at Monte Cassino, the preeminent intellectual center in South Italy.³⁰

It is thus not surprising to find Old Testament prophets and kings, as well as the “Erythraean sibyl,” comprising the nave spandrel figures of the partially destroyed and often discussed fresco cycle at S. Angelo in Formis, built and decorated by Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino between 1072 and 1087.³¹ The style and iconography of the frescoes, indisputably the most important surviving evidence of wall painting during the Desiderian era at Monte Cassino (1058–86), have long been studied in an attempt to establish their Byzantine, Norman, and indigenous components.

As early as 1895 Paul Weber suggested that the spandrel figures at S. Angelo in Formis constituted the first visual depiction of the *Ordo Prophetarum*, the aforementioned liturgical drama derived from the sermon.³² Weber’s hypothesis has not met with universal agreement; others have argued that the spandrel figures at S. Angelo in Formis are arranged typologically so as to relate to the christological scenes painted above them.³³ Neither proposal is entirely correct. The spandrel figures do

³⁰ F. Newton, “The Desiderian Scriptorium at Monte Cassino. The ‘Chronicle’ and Some Surviving Manuscripts,” *DOP* 30 (1976), 35–54, esp. 42–43; and H. Bloch, “Monte Cassino’s Teachers and Library in the High Middle Ages,” *La scuola nell’occidente latino dell’alto medioevo*, 15–21 aprile 1971. Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo 19 (Spoleto, 1972), II, 563–605.

³¹ The literature on S. Angelo in Formis is vast. For a discussion of the historiography of the issues, see J. Wettstein, *Sant’Angelo in Formis et le peinture médiévale en Campanie* (Geneva, 1960), 20–25. W. Paeseler’s argument for a later date (“Bauwerk und Bildkunst von Sant’Angelo in Formis: Revision der Datierungsfragen,” *Actes du XXIIe Congrès International d’Histoire de l’Art. Budapest, 1969. Evolution générale et développements régionaux en histoire de l’art*, I [Budapest, 1972], 259–73) and F. De Maffei’s argument for an earlier date (“Sant’Angelo in Formis. I. La data del complesso monastico e il committente nell’ambito del Primo Romanico campano,” *Commentari* n.s. 27 [1976], 143–78) are, I think, unconvincing. The spandrels of the north wall, reading from the west, depict: the Erythraean sibyl, David, Solomon, Hosea, Zephaniah, Daniel, Amos. The figure in the easternmost spandrel is destroyed; the fourth spandrel from the west lacks a prophet because the Crucifixion extends into that spandrel. The spandrels of the south wall, reading from the west, depict: Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Micah, Balaam, Malachi, Zechariah, and Moses; again, the easternmost spandrel is destroyed. Some of the prophets’ scrolls are ruined and hence illegible.

³² P. Weber, *Geistliches Schauspiel und kirchliche Kunst in ihrem Verhältnis erläutert an einer Ikonographie der Kirche und Synagoge* (Stuttgart, 1894), 41–58, esp. 51. E. Mâle, in his dissertation, realized the significance of the depiction of the sibyl: *Quomodo sibyllas recentiores artifices repraesentaverint* (Paris, 1899), 16–17.

³³ De Maffei, “La sibilla ‘Tiburtina’” (above, note 8) and C. I. Minott, *The Iconography of the Frescoes of the Life of Christ in the Church of Sant’Angelo in Formis*, Diss. (Princeton University, 1967), 190–206. See also K. Künstle, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, I (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1928), 78–81.

not illustrate literally either *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos* or any of the versions of the *Ordo Prophetarum* derived from the sermon. On the other hand, the proposed typological relationships between the spandrel figures and the christological scenes is neither consistent nor entirely convincing.³⁴

In the context of this study, the former relationship is of concern. In its current state, the S. Angelo in Formis fresco cycle shares with *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos* the presence of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, David, Moses, and the “Erythraean sibyl.” The inscriptions on the scrolls of the two last-mentioned figures are derived from the sermon, while the inscriptions on the scrolls of Jeremiah and Isaiah are no longer legible.³⁵ Daniel’s prophecy in the frescoes is derived from Dan. 9:26 rather than from the adaptation of Dan. 9:24 used in the sermon, and David’s prophecy is drawn from Ps. 40:10 rather than from Pss. 70:11 and 109:1 as in the sermon. Clearly, then, the spandrel frescoes at S. Angelo in Formis are not an exact illustration of the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon; they are, rather, an interpretation that is loosely related to the sermon. The partial relationship between the frescoes and the sermon does not, on the other hand, forbid a typological relationship between some of the prophets and the New Testament scenes above them.

The partial adoption of various aspects of *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos* in South Italy is not surprising, for the same situation exists among the northern European versions of the *Ordo Prophetarum* derived from the same Pseudo-Augustinian sermon: an eleventh/twelfth-century troper from St. Martial at Limoges (Paris, B.N., cod. lat. 1139, fols. 55v–58r), a thirteenth-century manuscript from Laon (Laon, Bibl. de la Ville, cod. 263, fols. 147v–149r), and the fourteenth-century *Ordo Processionis Asinorum secundum Rothmagensem usum* (Rouen, Bibl. de la Ville, cod. 384, fols. 33r–35r).³⁶ As at S. Angelo in Formis, the prophecies called forth are not exactly the same as in the sermon. All three differ from the sermon in using Isa. 11:1–2 rather than Isa. 7:14. On the other hand, as in the

³⁴ For example, Minott, *Iconography*, 191 admits that the prophecy of Ezekiel does not correlate with a specific scene.

³⁵ De Maffei (“La sibilla ‘Tiburtina’,” 28 ff) has attempted to reconstruct some of the lost inscriptions on the basis of the remaining letters; because she does not indicate which letters remain, it is impossible to verify her interpretation or comment upon it.

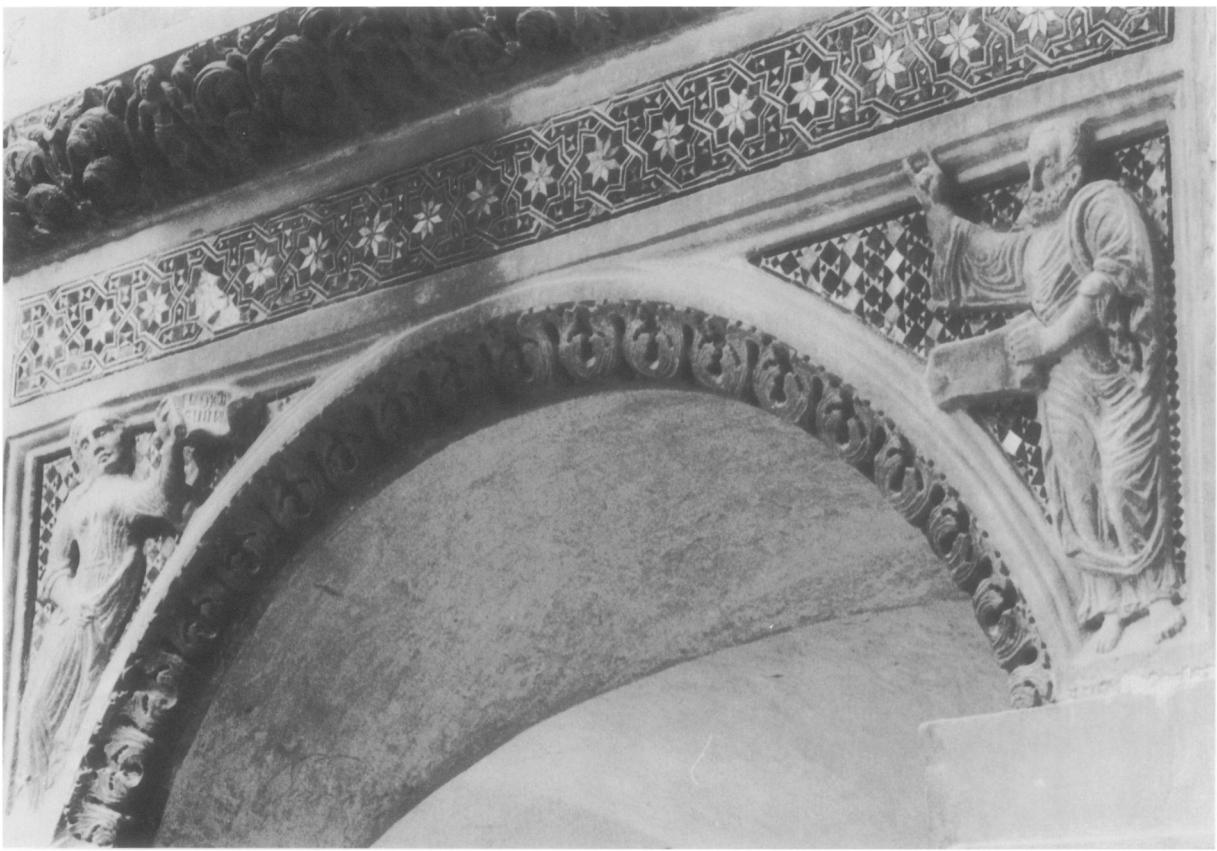
³⁶ See above, note 7.



1. Sessa Aurunca, cathedral, pulpit (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale)



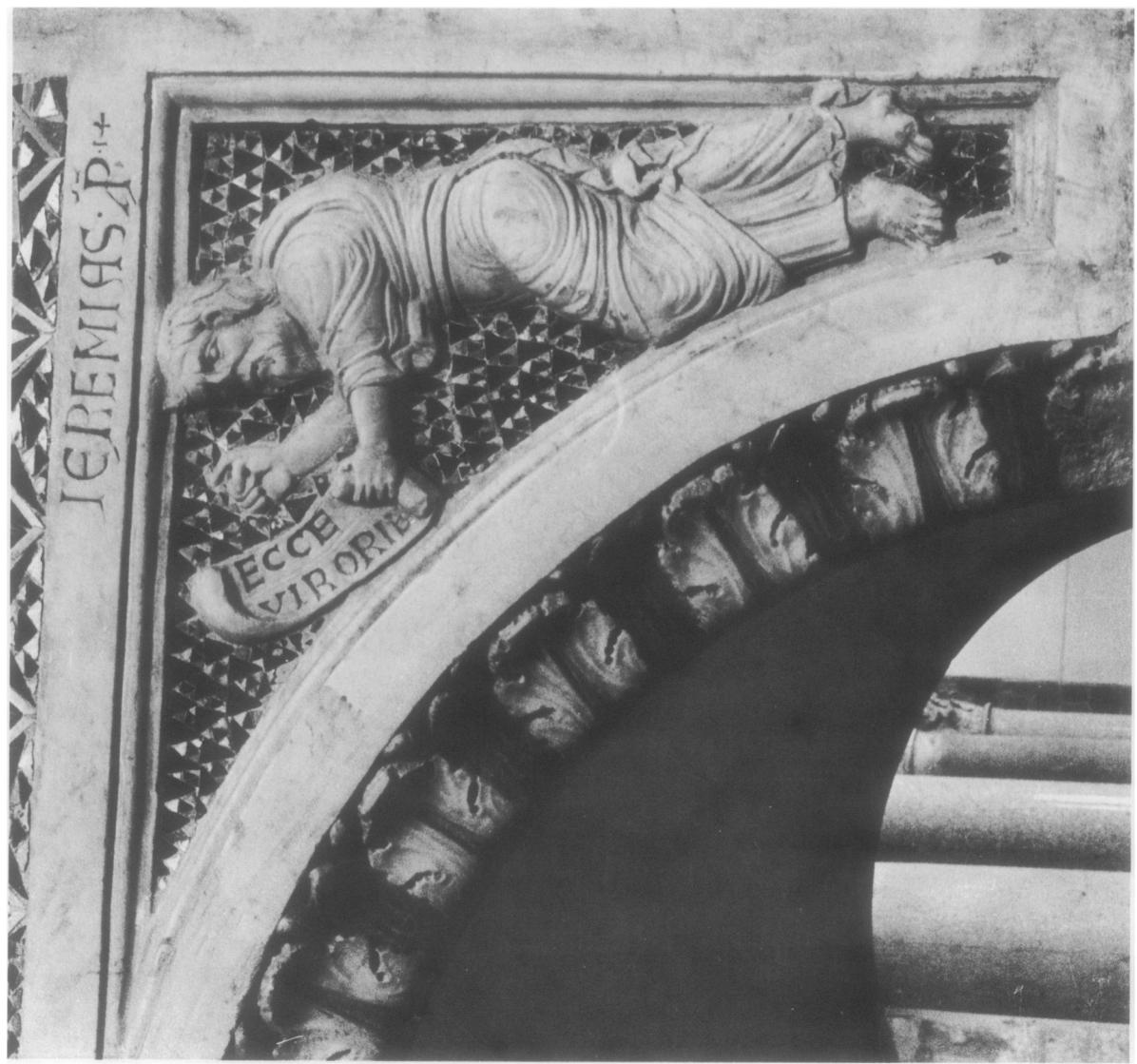
2. Sessa Aurunca, cathedral, pulpit, detail



3. Sessa Aurunca, cathedral, pulpit, detail



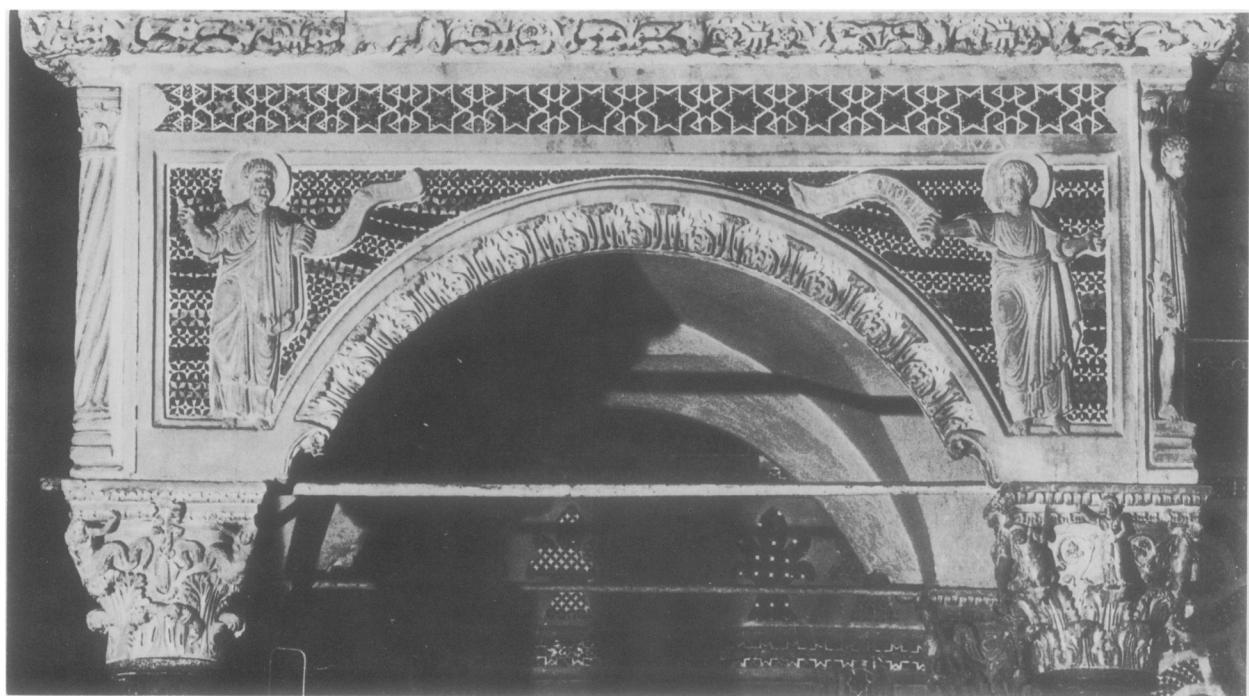
5. Caserta Vecchia, cathedral, pulpit, detail



4. Teano, cathedral, pulpit, detail (photo: Valentino Pace)



6. Caserta Vecchia, cathedral, pulpit, detail



7. Salerno, cathedral, pulpit, detail
(after A. Carucci, *I mosaici salernitani nella storia e nell'arte* [Cava dei Tirreni, 1983], pl. xviii)



8. Salerno, cathedral, pulpit, detail (after Carucci, *I mosaici salernitani*, pl. xix)

sermon, they include the prophecy of the sibyl and use Deut. 18:15, 19 for Moses' prophecy. From the point of view of the relationship(s) among the Sessa Aurunca pulpit, the frescoes at S. Angelo in Formis, and the various recensions of the *Ordo Prophetarum*, it is noteworthy that all versions of the *Ordo Prophetarum* share with the pulpit the use of Dan. 9:24 as in *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos*, rather than Dan. 9:26 as at S. Angelo in Formis. Of the liturgical dramas, only the Rouen *Ordo Prophetarum*, the extant version of which is dated later than the Sessa Aurunca pulpit, includes Zechariah, but the verse used is Zech. 9:9 as at S. Angelo in Formis, rather than Zech. 6:12 as on the pulpit. Although all the cited texts and objects are thus at least in part affiliated with *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos*, the relationship among them is neither consistent nor entirely clear; they do, however, affirm the widespread and enduring popularity of the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon, a work that may have served as the basis for other lists of prophets.

The foregoing lengthy excursus has established the source of the iconography of the pulpit at Sessa Aurunca and hence permits an analysis of its meaning. The three prophecies form a spectrum

of moods ranging from the bleak pessimism of the sibyl to the qualified optimism of Zechariah. The sibyl foretells doom and judgment for those who have sinned; Daniel predicts that seventy weeks remain to make an end to sin and to anoint the most holy; and Zechariah announces that the Messiah will come and build a holy temple. The iconography of the Sessa Aurunca pulpit, alluding to the advent of Christ and his good works after the doom and consequent repentance of an earlier era, is congruent with the use of chapters xi–xvii of *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos* as a Christmas lection. Both emphasize that the advent of Christ was foretold in the Old Testament.

The relationship between the pulpit at Sessa Aurunca and *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos* is not unique in Campania. The pulpit in the cathedral at Teano, approximately ten kilometers from Sessa Aurunca, is undocumented.³⁷ The four prophets

³⁷ The literature on Teano is sparse. In addition to the general works cited in note 1 above, see A. Di Lella, "Un monumento dell'arte neo-campana nella basilica cristiana di Teano," *Arte* 7 (1904), 174–75; and G. De Monaco and G. Zarona, *La cattedrale di Teano* (Mariigliano, 1977). For a photograph of the entire pulpit see *Aggiornamento*, VI, pl. clv, b.

occupying two of its spandrels are related to the style of the prophets at Sessa Aurunca but are somewhat more animated. Stylistically, they most likely postdate Sessa Aurunca by a few years. The rectangular box surmounting the spandrels consists of a more recent sarcophagus put in place in 1608,³⁸ but the spandrels themselves are untouched by restoration. The prophets depicted are: Daniel ("Cum venerit s[an]ctus," Dan. 9:24), Isaiah ("Ecce virgo," Isa. 7:14), Amos ("Dies v[e]ni[un]t," Amos 8:11), and Zechariah ("Ecce vir orie[ns]," Zech. 6:12). The last-mentioned prophet is problematical because an inscription above him identifies him as Jeremiah (Fig. 4). This identification must be rejected for two reasons. The epigraphy of the inscription is clearly later than that of the prophet's scroll, and the text on the scroll appears neither in the Book of Jeremiah nor in Baruch or Lamentations, the other texts associated with Jeremiah. Since Zechariah at Sessa Aurunca bears a scroll with the same inscription but is not labeled, the incorrect identification of that figure may have been caused by reference to the labeled figure at Teano.

As at Sessa Aurunca, the relationships among the pulpit at Teano, *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos*, and the texts derived from the sermon are complex. The Teano pulpit shares with the pulpit at Sessa Aurunca the prophets Daniel and Zechariah; the inscriptions on the scrolls are the same. Isaiah appears in the sermon and utters the same verse. Amos, on the other hand, appears only in the aforementioned fourteenth-century version of the *Ordo Prophetarum* from Rouen; both quote Amos 8:11. At Teano Amos' extraordinarily pessimistic prophecy reflects the mood of the sibyl's prophecy at Sessa Aurunca. Daniel, too, evokes doom, while Zechariah offers some hope. Most significant, perhaps, is the observation that the series of prophecies culminates in the optimism of Isaiah who predicts that the Virgin will conceive Christ. The fulfillment of the new era is thus at hand. Because the part of *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos* concerning the Jews, or the old order, was read at Christmas, it is fitting that Isaiah's prophecy concerning the Nativity should appear on the Teano pulpit.

The figures depicted on the pulpits at Sessa Aurunca and Teano thus form programs that are closely related to *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos* and hence to the Christmas liturgy. Earlier Cam-

panian Romanesque pulpits form less cohesive programs but give ample evidence of an interest in both the use of prophets and in images related to the Christmas season. For example, near Sessa Aurunca and Teano, in the cathedral at Capua, there are two severely abraded prophets(?) now embedded in the wall of the chapel immediately to the left of the main altar.³⁹ Dated ca. 1200–1210 on stylistic grounds, the prophets(?) hold scrolls whose inscriptions are no longer legible; some of the dismantled pulpit's capitals are now found in the crypt of the cathedral. Similarly unfortunate are the two spandrel figures embedded on either side of the entrance to the Albergo Caruso Belvedere, formerly the Palazzo d'Afflitto, in Ravello; approximately coeval with the prophets(?) at Capua, they were originally part of the pulpit formerly in S. Eustachio, Pontone, a few kilometers from Ravello.⁴⁰ One prophet's scroll identifies him as Daniel ("Cum venerit s[an]c[tu]s s[an]c[t]orum," Dan. 9:24); the other figure's scroll is no longer legible. The use of the unusual version of Dan. 9:24 clearly links the prophet from S. Eustachio, Pontone, to the later pulpits at Sessa Aurunca and Teano, but the fragmentary state of the Pontone pulpit forbids extensive interpretation.

The pulpit in the cathedral at Caserta Vecchia, dating from the episcopacy of Stabilus (1207–16),⁴¹ was reconstructed in the seventeenth century, perhaps from two pulpits. Parts of the pulpit(s) remain in the *deposito* adjoining the cathedral. In its present form the side of the pulpit facing the south aisle has a figure of Jeremiah holding a scroll bearing the inscription: "Oracio Jeremie p(ro)fete recordare Dñe"; he is placed in a niche rather than a spandrel, and the inscription does not record a specific biblical text (Fig. 5). The spandrels on the south side of the pulpit depict the symbols of Luke and Mark holding uninscribed books and flanking a lamb on which is superimposed a cross (Fig. 6). The lamb and the cross both symbolize Christ's sacrifice. Luke is the evangelist who recorded the Annunciation, but the reason for the presence of

³⁸ The spandrels were once embedded in the pavement of the cathedral. See Bertaux, *Italie méridionale* (above, note 1), 606, fig. 272. For illustrations of both prophets see *Aggiornamento*, VI, pl. cl, a–b.

³⁹ A. Venditti, "Scala e i suoi borghi. II. Un villaggio rudere: Pontone d'Amalfi," *Napoli nobilissima* 2 (1963), 163–76, esp. 169; and *Aggiornamento*, V, 778. A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, III. *L'arte romanica* (Milan, 1904), 563 and fig. 525, correctly records the inscription but misidentifies the figure as the sibyl.

⁴⁰ M. D'Onofrio, *La cattedrale di Caserta Vecchia* (Rome, 1974), 138–49.

Mark's symbol is not clear.⁴² In addition, the *deposito* houses an Annunciation group similar to Jeremiah in size and style; I suspect that it was once part of the pulpit(s).⁴³ The pulpit at Caserta Vecchia lacks any specific reference to *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos*. The significance of its iconography lies instead in the direct statement of a theme that was to be developed in a more abstract and intellectual manner at Sessa Aurunca and Teano.

The so-called epistle pulpit in the cathedral at Salerno, dating from ca. 1170–80,⁴⁴ also expresses the relationship between Old Testament prophecy and the coming of Christ in a more rudimentary form than that seen at Sessa Aurunca and Teano. The pulpit has four spandrel figures. There are two Old Testament prophets holding scrolls: Jeremiah ("Ecce dies ven[iunt],"⁴⁵ Jer. 9:25) and Isaiah ("Ecce virgo co[n]cipi[et]," Isa. 7:14) (Fig. 7); and two evangelists' symbols holding books: Matthew ("Liber generation[is]," Matt. 1:1) and John whose book is blank (Fig. 8).⁴⁶ Some of the pulpit's mosaic panels have been restored, but the spandrel figures are original. Jeremiah's prophecy tells of the forthcoming punishment of the Jews, while Isaiah proclaims the Virgin's conception of Christ and Matthew enumerates Christ's lineage. The Salerno pulpit may echo the theme of the cathedral's eleventh-century apse mosaic of which only fragments remain, for, as Kitzinger suggested, the mosaic very probably depicted the Virgin and Child with Old Testament prophets.⁴⁷ As at Caserta Vecchia, the general idea underlying the program of the Salerno pulpit is related to the thoughts embodied in *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos*, but the program is clearly not derived specifically from that text.

⁴² M. D'Onofrio and L. Cochetti Pratesi, "Due sculture inedita a Caserta Vecchia," *Commentari*, n.s. 23 (1972), 272–75.

⁴³ Near the figure of Jeremiah is a figure of a partially clothed man with a snake entwined around his body. Though often called Moses, there seems to be no valid reason for the identification. Moses raising up a snake so that its body forms a cross is common in medieval typology. Here, however, the snake entwined around the body denotes sin (cf. *LCI* 4, col. 81). Similar figures appear on the so-called gospel pulpit at Salerno and on the pulpit at Sessa Aurunca.

⁴⁴ G. Musca, *De Salernitanae Ecclesiae Episcopis et Archiepiscopis Catalogus*, ed. A. Capone (Subiaco, 1930; orig. pub. 1591), 51–52. For a photograph of the inscription see A. Carucci, *I mosaici salernitani nella storia e nell'arte* (Cava dei Tirreni, 1983), pl. LV.

⁴⁵ Carucci (*Mosaici*, 143) incorrectly reads Jeremiah's inscription as "Ecce tempus advenit."

⁴⁶ Schulz and von Quast (*Denkmäler*, II, 289) incorrectly note that John's book bears the inscription: "In principio erat verbum."

⁴⁷ Kitzinger, "Mosaic Decoration" (above, note 3), 153.

In reviewing the surviving evidence, it seems clear that from the eighth decade of the twelfth century, when the epistle pulpit at Salerno was carved, until the third quarter of the thirteenth, when the pulpit in the cathedral at Teano was made, this particular group of Campanian Romanesque pulpits stressed the Annunciation and the prophecies of that event in the Old Testament. The earlier programs, those at Salerno and Caserta Vecchia, although not grounded in a specific text, stress the importance of the Annunciation. The later, virtually intact, pulpits at Sessa Aurunca and Teano are derived from a section of the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos*, a text that had served as a Christmas lection in Campania from at least the eleventh century. Yet the union of text and sculpted imagery was not achieved until approximately two hundred years thereafter.

The extent to which *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos* was embedded in the culture of Campania is verified by an examination of the *Officia Propria Festorum Salernitanae* printed at Naples in 1594.⁴⁸ The text was written by Mario Bolognino, the archbishop of Salerno, in response to an edict concerning liturgical consistency promulgated on the occasion of the council held by Sixtus V at Cambrai in 1586.⁴⁹ In his own preface to the volume Bolognino notes that he has retained the customs that are specific to and traditional in the diocese of Salerno, but has otherwise conformed to the Roman Breviary issued by Pius V in 1568.⁵⁰ Bolognino's Breviary contains, on pages 75–79, the standard Campanian extract from *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos* with the indication of when it is to be read: "In Nativitatis nocte post primam missam legitur sermo Sancti Augustini Episcopi, more Salernitano." The Pseudo-Augustinian sermon was thus prevalent in Campania for at least five centuries, that is, from the eleventh through the sixteenth.⁵¹

⁴⁸ *Officia Propria Festorum Salernitanae* (Naples, 1594). To my knowledge, Karl Young was the first to call attention to the text. Cf. Young, *Drama*, II, 133–38.

⁴⁹ *Officia*, p. I, and Mansi, 34, cols. 1230–32.

⁵⁰ *Officia*, pp. II–III. The Breviary to which Bolognino refers is entitled *Breviarium romanum ex decreto Concilii Tridentini restitutum, Pii V pont. max. iussu editu* (Rome, 1568). The Breviary is prefaced by an unpaginated bull entitled *Quod a nobis*, pub. in C. Cocquelines, *Bullarum privilegiorum ac diplomatum Romanorum Pontificium . . .*, IV.3 (Rome, 1746), 22–24 (rpr. Graz, 1965). The bull demanded the use of the new Breviary but exempted those churches that had followed other customs for at least two hundred years.

⁵¹ I am indebted to Mark S. Weil for informing me that a version of the *Ordo Prophetarum* was performed in Florence in the 16th century; see M. S. Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty

Yet the Romanesque sculptors of Campania do not seem to have been responsible for the initial development of the theme. During the second and third decades of the twelfth century, Nicholaus and his school worked at the cathedrals of Piacenza, Ferrara, and Verona.⁵² At the first-mentioned cathedral four figures surround a window in the apse: the Virgin Mary, Gabriel, Balaam (whose scroll is inscribed with a portion of Num. 24:17), and Isaiah (whose scroll is inscribed with part of Isa. 7:14). On the jambs of the facade at Ferrara the Virgin and Gabriel are joined by Daniel (scroll illegible), Jeremiah (Bar. 3:36), Isaiah (Isa. 7:14), and Ezekiel (Ezek. 44:1, 2). The situation is similar on the facade of the cathedral at Verona where the Adoration of the Magi appears in the tympanum and numerous prophets appear below on the jambs. Nicholaus and his school developed clear and elaborate imagery in which the prophecies of the Old Testament were fulfilled by the coming of the Messiah.⁵³ The possible inter-

Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions," *JWarb* 37 (1974), 228 and 228 note 31.

⁵² For the relationship between the Annunciation and prophets in north Italian and French Romanesque sculpture, see Durand, "Monuments figurés" (above, note 9) and J. Bousquet, "L'emplacement du thème de l'annonciation dans la sculpture romane italienne et française," *Hommage à René Jullian. Archives de l'art français, nouv. pér. 25. A travers l'art français (du Moyen Age au XXe siècle)* (Paris, 1978), 29–39.

⁵³ The scrolls held by the prophets on the facade of the cathedral at Cremona, a work attributable to the school of Wiligelmo, also allude to the Annunciation, although that subject is not present. See N. Knechtel, "The Prophets on the Façade of the Cathedral at Cremona, Italy," M.A.H. thesis (State University of New York at Buffalo, 1985). For a detailed analysis of the portals by Nicholaus see the forthcoming monograph by C. Verzár Bornstein, *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City State: The Sculpture of Nicholaus in Context* (Parma, 1986).

relationships among Nicholaus' work, *Contra Iudeos, Paganos et Arianos*, and Campania are worthy of further investigation.

That the iconography of the group of Campanian pulpits under discussion should reflect liturgical readings is not surprising, for the other group of Campanian pulpits, those illustrating Jonah, are also related to the liturgy. A lection from Jonah on either Holy Thursday or Holy Saturday is typical of manuscripts emanating from Benevento.⁵⁴ Moreover, several of the South Italian Exultet Rolls used in the paschal celebration depict Jonah being swallowed by and emerging from the whale.⁵⁵ Both types of Campanian pulpits are, then, related directly to local liturgical practice. In essence, the two types of pulpits, perhaps once paired,⁵⁶ celebrated Christ's birth and resurrection, while his sacrifice was reenacted at the altar during Holy Communion. The close relationship between the iconography of Campanian Romanesque pulpits and the local liturgy both emphasizes the need to examine more fully the specific context of each work of art and urges that similar investigations be undertaken elsewhere.

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⁵⁴ R. J. Hesbert, *Le cod. 10673 de la Bibl. Vaticane fonds latin (XIe). Graduel bénéventain. Paléographie musicale 14* (Tournai, 1931), 454. A. A. King, *Liturgies of the Past* (Milwaukee, 1959), 58.

⁵⁵ Glass, "Jonah" (above, note 2); M. Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy* (Princeton, 1936).

⁵⁶ A discussion of the problem will be included in my monograph on Campanian Romanesque sculpture (in progress).